



2809343042

Revisions of the City:

Boston's Lessons in Urban Redevelopment from Top-Down to Bottom-up, 1950-Present

By

Jessica Hoffman



Figure 1. West End Museum, Boston, MA

By Jessica Hoffman

This Report is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science in Architectural History for the University of London

The Bartlett
University College London
17 September 2007

Revisions of the City:

Boston's Lessons in Urban Redevelopment from Top-Down to Bottom-up, 1950-Present

By

Jessica Hoffman

This Report is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science in Architectural History for the University of London

The Bartlett
University College London
17 September 2007

UMI Number: U593660

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U593660

Published by ProQuest LLC 2013. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Dedicated to Grumbs

Special thanks to the following individuals for all of their consideration and help in the dissertation process: Barbara Penner; Adrian Forty; Frank A. Possemato; Nicole Agusti; The Bostonian Society & Nicole DeLaria; Institute Archives and Special Collections, MIT Libraries; The West End Museum and The West Enders--Bruce Guarino, James Campano; The Bartlett—Msc Architectural History course 2006-2007

Table of Contents:

<i>Abstract.....</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Introduction: Revisions of a City.....</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Part I:</i>	
<i>Nancy Fraser, Jurgen Habermas and Counterpublics.....</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Part II:</i>	
<i>A Brief History:</i>	
<i>Scollay Square and Its Relationship to the West End.....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Part III:</i>	
<i>Past is Present: Recollections of the West End and Scollay Square.....</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>Part IV:</i>	
<i>Scollay Square: The Image of The City.....</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>Part V:</i>	
<i>The Death and Life of Cities.....</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>Part VI:</i>	
<i>The Bottom-Up:</i>	
<i>Scollay Square and the West End, revived & Roxbury Rising.....</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>Appendix.....</i>	<i>57</i>

Abstract

This report focuses on three specific areas of Boston: the former West End, the former Scollay Square, and Roxbury demonstrating the possibilities of a “bottom-up” approach to urban redevelopment, led by counterpublics, and the circumstance that fostered top-down renewal prior to this. Furthermore, through the examination of Herbert Gans, Jane Jacobs, and Kevin Lynch a historiographical narrative develops, emphasizing the semantics of urban regeneration. A debate surfaces in the text-whose model of what constitutes a city is the most credible? My aim is to reflect on the dangers of wholesale urban renewal practices, while considering critical and academic involvement with a kind of urbanism that does not adequately address acute kinds of difference (race, class, etc.) in establishing specific “images of the city.”

Introduction: Revisions of a City

The ordinary practitioners of the city live “down below,” below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk—an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, Wandersmanner, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban ‘text’ they write without being able to read it.¹

Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*

Michel De Certeau, In *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), shows us the people who make up the urban setting, or the view “from below.” De Certeau portrays these “ordinary practitioners” as blind to urban geography. I would hesitate. This report will demonstrate the importance of these inhabitants in the constant struggle for place and identity. I will focus on the essential role and possibilities of a “bottom-up” approach to redevelopment, led by counterpublics, in three significant areas of Boston: **the former West End, the former Scollay Square, and Roxbury.**

One of the most critical themes to be found in this paper is the idea of changing perceptions of urban renewal in Boston. In the 1950’s, renewal was overwhelmingly a phenomenon that occurred from the top-down. The government and the developers were the decision makers. Redevelopment was largely a black and white issue, with hardly any grey area to be found. A good example of this is the use of terminology employed in the declaration of housing as either a “slum” or something much more desirable(See Fig 10.)- was there actually something in the middle? Sociologist Herbert Gans fought desperately to reverse the fate of the West End and indeed, to prove that it was not a “slum.” But nevertheless, the taking of both the West End and Scollay Square happened with great rapidity. The West End was a primarily residential neighborhood that was secured by the

¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 93.

city of Boston mainly through eminent domain by 1958. In order to facilitate a return of the middle class to the city, over thirty-five streets were cleared, displacing some 12,000 residents, comprising over twenty-three ethnic groups, to make way for middle to upper income high-rise apartment buildings and the expansion of Massachusetts General Hospital. Scollay Square was an area in the heart of downtown Boston that was seen as an entertainment and commercial mecca in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Soon thereafter, the square would be seen as dilapidated by developers, urban planners, and even inhabitants and in the 1960's it too fell to demolition this time to make way for I.M. Pei's Government Center complex. However, throughout the 1960's perceptions of urban regeneration started to change influenced in part by Jane Jacobs through *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1960). And, in the 1980's and 1990's local neighborhood initiatives became empowered to claim their own renewal goals, which may be seen in the case of Roxbury and the Dudley Square Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI).

This report is a historical account of Scollay Square and the West End, and a retelling of the urban removal practices that were commonplace in many American cities mid-twentieth century; it also shows Roxbury, a Boston community that used civic engagement to quell top-down renewal attempts. However, this report uncovers, through theory, an alternative discourse embedded across forty years of Boston's redevelopment history. A historiographical narrative develops through the examination of Herbert Gans, Jane Jacobs, and Kevin Lynch; a debate surfaces in this text- whose model of what constitutes a city is most credible? For Gans, Jacobs, and Lynch, the semantics of urban renewal is deeply essential to their arguments.

It is my aim is to reflect on the dangers of wholesale urban renewal practices, while considering critical and academic involvement with a version of urbanism that does not adequately address acute kinds of difference (race, class, etc.) in establishing specific “images of the city.” My model for regeneration is that which comes from within existing communities, engaging the populous; renewal from without, with disingenuous civic engagement, has proved over time to be ineffective for many of those involved. It is my hope that the aftermath of the urban renewal practices of the past has forced the local governments to adopt a heightened level of responsibility and to recognize and listen to the publics affected in such matters.

I value the interdisciplinary of this report in architectural history. This study emphasizes spatial aspects, while also alluding to historical, sociological, philosophical, political, psychological, and even anthropological disciplines. As I elucidate throughout the text, the nature of the subject matter explored benefits exponentially from communication across subjects.

The present report will consist of six main sections, which largely rely on a chronology of history and theory surrounding urban redevelopment of three distinct Boston neighborhoods. Each section explores the attitudes of the people directly involved in the redevelopment process.

In section I, I introduce Nancy Fraser’s critique of Jurgen Habermas’s conception of the public sphere. Fraser stresses multiple publics rather than Habermas’s singular public sphere. The conception of counterpublics is central to the discourse in this report- a reoccurring theme, which is first absent, and then present in American urban renewal discussions in the second half of the twentieth century.

In section II, I briefly describe the historical context of Scollay Square and the relationship it has to its neighbor, the West End. These two neighborhoods are integrally tied together for the purpose of exploring the fate of the residents of Boston in a primarily top-down planning process. Scollay Square will prove an important region of Boston in my consideration of theorist Kevin Lynch's work on imageability.

Section III, consists of two parts. The first part explores the idea of nostalgia and how it becomes a form of protest, by the previous residents of the West End. Through the West End Museum, West Enders refuse to lose their identity as West Enders. The inability to save the West End, and then later Scollay Square, facilitates the determination of the counterpublics to assert themselves still fifty years later. Michel De Certeau, would call the reminiscences of such lost areas a 'suspended symbolic order,' created through "the extermination of trees, forests, and hidden places in which such legends live."² The second part of this section, describes the demolition of the West End and Scollay Square. Its positioning in this text serves as an explanation for why the West Enders still feel the way they do about renewal, and how it served as a lesson in urban planning for the future.

In Section IV, I focus on Kevin Lynch, an urban planner and professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) who was a consultant on the Government Center project and worked through interviews and consultation with subjects trying to empirically quantify elements of the city in his work *The Image of the City* (1960). Lynch's work attempted to inject humanity into the city, but perhaps, initially, it had the reverse effect. In this section, I will emphasize Lynch's work pertaining to Scollay

² De Certeau, 106.

Square. I show the inherent shortcomings and contradictions contained in his work when related to popular histories of the area.

In Section V, I will explore Jane Jacobs and her ardent attempts to quell renewal in the early 1960's via her book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). Now, people and subjectivity were legitimately inserted into the equation of urban renewal. Her call for planning from the bottom-up influenced and inspired many communities to flip planning on its head and show the local governments and the developers that their opinions mattered. I draw attention to the fact that Jacobs sees Lynch as having similar aims, yet in hindsight the outcomes and methods of their writings have striking dissimilarities.

Section VI, consists of two parts as well. The first section shows that over the last twenty years the West End and Scollay Square have resurfaced in the public consciousness, through museums, temporary exhibitions, books, lectures, rededications, etc.... Elucidating ideas of nostalgia, place, and identity, social interaction, not image is the essential quality of the city; an area is defined through its inhabitants, and not simply through geography. To this end, the second part of this section portrays Roxbury, as an influential Boston neighborhood that reversed what they had perceived as being a devastating renewal plan from the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA). Through forming a neighborhood initiative, renewal was not imposed upon them, but rather they created their own version of what redevelopment should be, from the bottom-up.

Part I:

Nancy Fraser, Jurgen Habermas and Counterpublics

What Jacobs calls for with her notion of pro grassroots democracy is decidedly like what Nancy Fraser elucidates with the idea of *counterpublics* in her critique of Jurgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), in "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," (1992). According to Habermas, private people, who maintained a double identity of both property owner and human being, created the public sphere in early modern Europe in order to mediate between the private realm and the sphere of public authority,³ which operated as the checks and balances of civil society.⁴ Fraser states, "...the idea of a public sphere is that of a body of 'private persons' assembled to discuss matters of 'public concern' or 'common interest'.... These publics aimed to mediate between society and the state by holding the state accountable to society via publicity."⁵ To Habermas, the public sphere and rational critical discourse were never fully actualized in practice largely due to the newly privatized market economy. For the purpose of this study, I shall focus on two points of Fraser's argument for making the public sphere a stronger body, social equality and multiple publics. These referenda call for social equality within the public sphere without discrimination based on gender, property, or race. And Fraser asserts that Habermas' notion of "the singularity of the bourgeois conception of the public sphere" is much less desirable than a multitude of publics representing a full range of dominant and

³ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into the Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Fredrick Lawrence (Great Britain: Polity Press, 1962, 1989), 160.

⁴ Habermas, 30, See diagram for further breakdown of the realms.

⁵ Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." In *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun, 112 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).

subordinated social groups. Fraser finds support for alternative publics by using the example of late-twentieth century U.S. feminism, which she likes to call *subaltern counterpublics*. This term, Fraser asserts, is used “in order to signal that they are parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs.”⁶ This *subaltern counterpublic* has been successful in organizing throughout various media, such as publications, conferences, academic programs, lecture series, etc... to get their agenda out into the public. Feminists have also equipped themselves with a powerful vocabulary such as with the terms ‘sexism’ and ‘sexual harassment.’ With this type of action the counterpublics have been able to assert themselves in the public sphere and have made great strides in getting the better of their disadvantage in official public spheres.⁷

⁶ Fraser, 122-23.

⁷ Fraser, 123.

Part II:

A Brief History: Scollay Square and Its Relationship to the West End

The birth of Scollay Square in the mid-nineteenth century was due largely to its role as a transportation hub for downtown Boston. During this time period, upstanding businesses, churches, and permanent residences occupied the Square. The large waves of Irish immigration in the 1840's played a role in the transition between the old and the new Scollay Square, and after the Great Fire of 1872 many of its earlier inhabitants moved to the Back Bay and Scollay Square became home to "an increasingly transient population."⁸ The heyday of Scollay Square's notoriety and/or infamy was from the 1870's until Prohibition. Beloved theatres, restaurants, and entertainers transformed the Square from a commercial center to an entertainment mecca. But the halcyon days of Scollay Square could not last forever, and once prohibition hit, the Square began falling on hard times. World War II revived the Square briefly particularly due to the patronage of shore leave sailors.

By the twentieth century, Scollay Square had become a place where tattoo parlors, barrooms, shooting galleries, photography studios, shabby movie theaters, gaudy hot dog stands, and sleazy burlesque houses blighted what had once been a quiet residential district. During World War II, it was a favorite location for sailors docking at Boston Harbor and for soldiers visiting the city on leave. 'Where's Scollay Square?' was usually their first question on arriving to Boston.⁹

But once the sailors went home to their families, the Square was once again in a state of economic decline. It would only be a matter of time until the local government would make its mark on Scollay Square.

The physical and social relationship between the West End and Scollay Square is an important one to examine for the purposes of this study. The Square lay just south of the

⁸ David Kruh, Always Something Doing: Boston's Infamous Scollay Square (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1989), x.

⁹ Kruh, x.

West End, occupying a web of twenty-two streets in the center of downtown Boston (See fig. 9). Scollay Square could be characterized as a no-man's land, the crossroads of three distinct Boston districts: the West End, Beacon Hill, and the North End, but its ambience and location made it most at home in the West End (See fig. 7). The West Enders felt a kinship with Scollay Square- firstly, due to their physical locations and secondly, because the two areas fell prey to "almost simultaneous destruction."¹⁰

In order for the West Enders to get to the center of Boston, it was necessary to first pass through the square. "There's an old joke whose punchline comes from a New England native telling a tourist..." You can't get there from here—without going through Scollay Square.'¹¹ But, to the residents of the West End, Scollay Square would have felt like just another set of well-known streets.

If one refers to Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960), two maps of Boston, one derived from verbal interviews and the other as seen in the field, shows a large blank gap between Scollay Square and the West End. This space indicates a clear disjunction between the two areas (see fig. 2).¹² It is likely, since the subjects Lynch had employed were predominantly outsiders, that they did not perceive a strong relationship between Scollay Square and the West End.

¹⁰Kruh, xxi.

¹¹Kruh, xxi.

¹²Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960), 146-47, See figs. 35, 38.

Figure 2. Two of Lynch's, *The Image of the City* maps depicting spatial perceptions of Boston from verbal interviews and the field, respectively.

Part III:

The Past is Present: Recollections of the West End and Scollay Square

“ ‘...Nostalgia is memory with the pain removed.’ The pain is today. We shed tears for the landscape we find no longer what it was, what we thought it was, or what we hoped it would be.”¹³

David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*

I am interested in nostalgia, but not in a nostalgic representation of what once was Scollay Square and the West End where the Charles River Park and Government Center now stand in the heart of Downtown Boston. For the most part, nostalgia for the old West End and Scollay Square has already come and gone. Like former West Enders Bruce Guarino, I am not interested in “crying over spilled milk, what’s done is done.”¹⁴ Guarino devotes a lot of his time volunteering at the West End Museum, and furthermore he warns us not to mourn, despite his resentment of the loss of his childhood neighborhood.

Charles River Park, or what Guarino refers to matter of factly as an “eyesore,” is the major development complex of middle to upper-middle income high-rises that replaced the old West End’s tenement blocks (See fig. 13). The old West Enders were originally under the impression that these new residences would accommodate them, but soon enough many realized that they were misled and this new housing would be unaffordable. Jerome Rappaport, the developer of Charles River Park, dreamed up a slogan for the development in 1967 which said, “If you lived here, you’d be home by now.” And to this day the sign may be seen from Storrow Drive, an expressway that is more often than not congested with Boston’s all-day rush hour traffic.¹⁵ The irony of this advertisement is that

¹³ David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 8.

¹⁴ Bruce Guarino, interviewed by Jessica Hoffman, Boston, MA., 14 August 2007.

¹⁵ Monica Collins, “Born Again,” *Boston Globe*, August 7, 2005, 2-3.

the more than 7,000 people who were estimated to have lived in the old West End already were “home by now.” For many surviving former West Enders, they still consider it to be their home.

The West End Museum (See fig. 1) features exhibits and first hand accounts from surviving West Enders that portray a neighborhood which was not paradise lost, but rather a functioning, unique and distinct community overtaken against its will in a just a few short years. The museum functions much like a memorial for the survivors; it is a forum where they can recreate the memories of the past with others who share similar fates. The West End survivors speak with poignant affection regarding their neighborhood; nostalgia surely permeates their replies but their remembrances reveal a three dimensional memory for a neighborhood that does not fit the moniker that ultimately doomed it-“slum.” Indeed, it would seem that social architects (referred to with a telling, still tangible resignation by the tour guide as “the powers that be”) were unable or unwilling to accept that a neighborhood could fall into neither the category of success story (from a largely tax-revenue based criteria) or slum. The West End was decidedly working class, the survivors’ anecdotes feature plenty of references to trade schools and entering work at a young age, but they also speak of a neighborhood imbued with a sense of community, of extended family knowing and caring about another's business, and the organic integration that can occur when diverse groups live and interact in close proximity- all qualities far more intangible and challenging to assess than tax revenue or the frequency of litter collection. In fact the West End exhibited diversity, with over twenty-three ethnic groups calling it home, well in advance of many American neighborhoods in the first half of the twentieth century. Additionally, the neighborhood

had a strong and independent African American community with a history of self preservation dating back to the era of the Fugitive Slave Act.

The West End museum does not shrink from the "slum" accusation, but rather seeks to address it head on, with a zeal and resentment amazingly sharp after five decades. The first image a visitor is likely to encounter is a prominently displayed shot of a street with litter adorning both sides and a caption (and tour guide) explaining how intentionally delayed and substandard trash collection was a key tool used to create a self-fulfilling prophecy of condemnation and the need for "renewal."

Maps of the city at the time of renewal show gaps and vacancies that survivors compare to a bombing. Bruce Guarino and other surviving West Enders speak of the loss of their neighborhood with inevitability. There is belief among this group that once it had been decided "on high" by the city and developers that the West End would be seized, and attempts were made to exacerbate and create conditions that could be defined as "slum" like, there was simply no stopping "them." In the eyes of many surviving West Enders the semantic war over defining the neighborhood was lost before it even began.

What I am drawn to in this story is the a kind of counterpublic, the constant struggle to not necessarily recreate a neighborhood, but to remember the people and the spirit, that the bulldozers took away over forty-five years ago. Even as every year the number of surviving residents diminishes, the communal spirit of the West End is still alive today. However, the memory of the lost neighborhood remains painful for the survivors. For Jimmy Campano, director of the West End Museum, and founder of the West End newsletter (See fig. 12), perhaps the man most responsible for the West End's revival, no amount of community reunions or belated recognition from the city can undo or even

lessen the wrong he still feels. Nearly five decades later Campano states, “Nothing’s changed. I haven’t reconciled.”¹⁶

*

*

*

*Instead of ‘the decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family,’ promised by the Housing Act of 1949, residents of low-income neighborhoods, including poor and elderly whites, were often left with less housing, higher rents, fewer businesses and scarcer jobs than before.*¹⁷

Peter Medoff and Holly Sklar, *Streets of Hope*

The Housing Act of 1949 made widespread “urban redevelopment” possible in numerous cities in the United States. One reason that the act was welcomed with such enthusiasm by local governments was because once a city had declared an area a “slum” the federal government then provided two-thirds of the cost for the acquisition of the land and the city itself would only have to finance the remaining one-third. This seized land would then be handed over to private developers. Walter McQuade in “Boston, What Can A Sick City Do?” (1964), writes of, “The Housing Act of 1949, which as amended gives cities a powerful method for buying up and clearing land and then selling it to private developers at an attractive price.”¹⁸ There were numerous issues that arose because of these practices and the affects of these changes would be felt for decades and generations thereafter. Not only were many lower income residents displaced, but also in many cases they were left to pick up the pieces that the local governments had literally destroyed with hardly any suitable reparations.

¹⁶ James Campano, interviewed by Jessica Hoffman, Boston, MA., 24 August 2007.

¹⁷ Peter Medoff and Holly Sklar, Streets of Hope: The Fall and Rise of an Urban Neighborhood (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1994), 17.

¹⁸ Walter McQuade, “Boston, What Can a Sick City Do?” Fortune, June 1964, 7.

Boston would be susceptible to this type of urban redevelopment and urban renewal. By the 1950's, a wave of panic was spreading throughout downtown Boston because of its lost revenues in the early to mid-twentieth century, "In ten years 14,000 downtown jobs had disappeared, and \$78 million of taxable assessments had evaporated just in the central business district."¹⁹ McQuade further goes on to state,

Urban renewal is an issue in most America's cities; the nation has been working at it for fifteen years with little more than mediocre success. But in Boston big things have begun that may well hold important lessons for businessmen in the rest of the U.S. who are concerned about their environments. Boston is being turned into a laboratory of renewal techniques, which are being applied to its waterfront, to its central business district, and to eight of the cities ancient neighborhoods. All told this effort may affect 25 percent of Boston's area and 50 percent of its population.²⁰

The "laboratory of renewal techniques" McQuade wrote of demonstrates that Boston at mid-century was perched on the edge of top-down renewal policies.

The looming question in the 1950's and 1960's was how to redevelop a blighted and diseased city. How could a city, with so much "wasted" downtown space and lost real estate profits and prospects look towards the future without sacrificing too much of the past? In *What Time Is This Place?* (1972), Kevin Lynch eloquently justifies his reasons for redevelopment stating the thesis of his theory, "I shall argue that a desirable image is one that celebrates and enlarges the present while making connections with past and future."²¹ Lynch adopts a seemingly Indic world-view when confronted with the notion of change by stating,

Change and recurrence are the sense of being alive—things gone by, death to come, and present awareness. The world around us, so much of it our own creation, shifts continually and often bewilders us. We reach out to that world to preserve or to change it and so to make visible our desire. The arguments of planning all come down to the management of change.²²

¹⁹ McQuade, 4.

²⁰ McQuade, 3-4.

²¹ Kevin Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972), 1.

²² Lynch, *What Time Is This Place?*, 1.

The government decided to act and with a plan that had been in the making for several decades (even though residents still claimed that they never really saw it coming) the government seized the West End district, demolishing nearly everything in its path in 1958. Scollay and Bowdoin Squares soon fell to similar fates to make way for the Government Center Project in the 1960's (See figs. 3,4,5).

The West End and Scollay Square were completely demolished by the early 1960's as a large-scale slum-clearance and urban renewal project. And perhaps their similar fates could ultimately link them in residents' minds. The West Enders were increasingly skeptical of local politics and the slum-clearance project ever actually occurring. However, "On April 25, 1958, all residents of the West End received registered letters from the city of Boston notifying them that the BRA had taken over the property by eminent domain for the purpose of eliminating a 'substandard' and 'decadent' area, and that the demolition would begin immediately."²³ The semantics of redevelopment operations was hugely important in gaining momentum and local support for the justification of these projects. And, the West Enders' skepticism towards the local government hindered their participation in the Save The West End Committee, a community action group meant to protest demolition. The sociologist Herbert Gans conducted a participant-observation study of the West Enders between October 1957 and May 1958, resulting in the book *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (1962). In this study, Gans classified the West End as an Urban Village or tight-knit neighborhood rather than its formal 1953 declaration as a "slum." And, it was Gans's belief that the West Enders did not participate more in The Save the

²³ Thomas O'Connor, Building a New Boston: Politics and Urban Renewal 1950-1970 (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 136-37.

West End Committee for several reasons. For instance, he had recognized Italian-Americans, the largest of the West End's twenty-three working class, ethnic populations, as being distrusting of local government and politicians, and of the belief that problems should be solved by the "individual, peer group, or by going to the politician and asking a favor."²⁴ And if none of these solutions were effective then the problem was not going to get resolved or it was just to be blamed on corrupt politics. Gans asserted that the majority of the West Enders shared the same perspective about the plans:

...The redevelopment was motivated by political chicanery and individual greed; that government actions to scare the West Enders into leaving stemmed from sympathy or collusion with the builders; and that until definite proof was available, there was no reason to believe the West End would actually be torn down.²⁵

So the seizure of West End property and consequently demolition occurred with little organized resistance from the community.

I have discussed how West Enders felt a kinship with Scollay Square as a place that lay within their neighborhood. However, Herbert Gans discusses Scollay Square as being both physically and demographically separate. "The West End was an urban village, located next to Boston's original and once largest skid row area, Scollay Square."²⁶ Skid row is being defined here as a place inhabited by people on the fringe of society, where services that are illegal and in demand are available to the rest of the community. It was the "lower end" of the West End that was adjacent to Scollay Square. The lower end contained older, dwelling units for poorer inhabitants as well as rooming houses for those

²⁴ Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans (London: The Free Press, 1962, 1982), 109.

²⁵ Gans, 337-338.

²⁶ Gans, 4-5.

who were regulars at the bars and eateries of the square.²⁷ Despite Gans's classification, many people from the community and further a field came to enjoy the many pleasures that Scollay Square had to offer.

Once the West End had been seized in 1958, several hundred families had little choice, but to move to nearby Scollay Square. And in 1959, Boston's newly elected mayor, John Collins appointed a city planner to head the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) named Edward Logue. The BRA would carry-over the plan from John B. Hynes's previous mayoral administration for the Government Center project, which was to take the place of old Scollay Square. "This plan was first introduced in August 1956, although the idea was not a new one. In 1930, William Stanley Parker, who was President of the Boston Society of Architects and a member of the City Planning Board, proposed an early version of the Hynes plan for the square."²⁸ Collins and Logue saw Scollay Square as the perfect place to implement their new project. The two leaders saw this as the ideal way to revitalize an area with a business vacancy of around twenty-seven percent and what various publications described as 'Boston's skid row' (U.S. News and World Report, September 21, 1964), an area filled with 'flop houses, bordellos and tattoo parlors' (Time, November 6, 1964), and a 'slum' (Business Week, April 13, 1963).²⁹ Like the West End, the loss of the semantic battle to define the area immediately proceeded the razing of the area itself.

It was not the business owners or residents of the Square who would not commit to the redevelopment project (then again they were never asked), but rather the federal

²⁷ Gans, 6.

²⁸ Kruh, 128.

²⁹ Kruh, 128-29.

government. Scollay Square would be completely demolished (See fig. 3) just like its West End neighbor, save for one building, the Sears Crescent. And, on August 10, 1960 the Massachusetts house unanimously passed a bill “authorizing construction of a \$50 million complex of state buildings, including a \$26 million state office building in the proposed Government Center.”³⁰ I.M. Pei and Associates of New York would design the new project. The finalized plans became public on October 18, 1961, “One week later an urban renewal first took place in Boston when the entire project area, containing just over fifty acres of real estate, was seized by the city. What made this land-taking so unusual was that the plan for Government Center had not yet been approved [by the federal government].”³¹

Despite the city’s effort to relocate the families of the West End, there was no such generosity in the case of those displaced once again after Scollay Square’s taking. Families were only offered \$200 for moving expenses and a free relocation service. Most of these people moved out of the city to neighboring towns like Medford or Somerville.³²

There has been plenty of finger pointing during the last half century over the West End, Scollay Square and Bowdoin Square redevelopments, but there are only so many times that one can say that these were an abhorrence. Walter Muir Whitehill, in a *Topographical History of Boston* (1959) states,

The forces involved in the redevelopment of the West End were many and varied, and even with the passage of time there would be no satisfactory resolution of the continuing debate over whether or not it had been necessary, equitable, or humane. But as the process of urban renewal went on in the city of Boston during the remainder of the 1960’s and into the 1970’s, the West

³⁰ O’Connor, 184.

³¹ Kruh, 132-33.

³² Kruh, 132.

End experience certainly became the single standard by which all future activities would be measured.³³

The city of Boston, the developers, and even, at least in a physical sense, the past residents have, for the most part, moved on. However, it is necessary to understand the motivations of the time period and of the people in charge of these projects and why at the time those involved thought that their opinion was the correct one. When the renewal was beginning in the 1950's it seemed everyone wanted a piece and everyone wanted the credit for it. This makes a striking contrast to today when, as I discovered on a recent visit to the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA), no one wants to admit that he or she was in charge of the projects. When speaking with the BRA, there was a denial of the involvement in the inception of the West End project and a distancing from the agency's contentious practices in subsequent renewal projects. Almost immediately after its completion, the West End redevelopment was seen as a mistake and to some extent the demolition of Scollay Square for the Government Center project was seen as irresponsible renewal as well.

³³ Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston: A Topographical History (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959, 2000), 70-71.



Figure 3. The Demolition of Scollay Square, 1961

Figure 4. Scollay Square Aerial Photo, 1930

Figure 5. Government Center Aerial Photo, 1980



Figure 6. Depopulated photo of Scollay Square from Kevin Lynch's, *The Image of the City*.



Figure 7.
Map depicting
relationship of
Beacon Hill and
Scollay Square
from Kevin
Lynch's, *The
Image of the City*.

1. This claim is revealed when Lynch further explains that the views neither a truly "depopulated" nor a "crowded" state, but rather a "balanced" state, where the "image of the city" is formed from the "North or 'West End'" Lynch, who by the time that *The Image of the City* had been published had already lived in Boston for well over two years, tells us that an eventual distribution of subjects would not change the "image of the city" as much as Lynch's initial distribution of subjects.
2. Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 152-53.
3. Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 152.

Part IV:***Scollay Square: The Image of the City***

During the American post-war period, scholars such as Kevin Lynch and Jane Jacobs, both tried, through very different approaches, to enact change in the ways in which the public interacted with and engaged in their surroundings. More specifically, through a framework of mental visualization of the areas in which one travels from day to day, Kevin Lynch tries to show in his book *The Image of the City* (1960) that the city has the potential to be mapped according to how users encounter their surroundings. Lynch examines three different cities in the United States: Los Angeles, Jersey City, and Boston. Through subject participation and observation, he maps out these cities according to how certain users interpret specific areas. For the purpose of this piece, we shall primarily focus on what Lynch says about an area of Boston referred to as Scollay Square and its nearby surroundings.

Lynch's methodological approach is not altogether satisfactory as the participants of the study do not adequately represent the population of the areas studied. Lynch states,

But because articulate volunteers were needed for these early efforts, the sample was quite unbalanced as to class and occupation, being primarily middle-class, professional and managerial. There is bound to be a strong class bias in the results, therefore, and retests should be made with a sample that is not only larger but also more representative of the general population.³⁴

A class bias is revealed when Lynch further explains that there was neither a truly representative sampling of residence nor workplace, given that there was a lack of subjects from the North or West Ends.³⁵ Lynch, who by the time that *The Image of the City* had been published had already lived in Boston for well over ten years, tells us that the residential distribution of subjects would not change the "image of the city" as much

³⁴ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 152-53.

³⁵ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 153.

as a class bias might. However, it is my belief that the two are integrally tied together as may be noted from the lack of subjects from the key areas, such as Scollay Square, which is my focus. According to Lynch, certain areas of downtown Boston, like Scollay Square are hard to visualize. However, in the case of Scollay Square, which was well-known to the insiders of the city and not necessarily to the casual outside observer, of course it would be an area that is hard to clearly imagine. This is certainly one place in the text where Lynch's methodology and the presence of class biases are apparent.

Scollay Square is shown in comparison to Beacon Hill in the appendix of the *Image of the City* (See fig. 7). The subjects in the study thought that the image of Beacon Hill was "very distinctive" and "the symbol of Boston."³⁶ However Beacon Hill, a largely residential area, and one of the most charming, elegant, and affluent areas of the city, is compared to Scollay Square an area known for its 'low class' amusements, cheap eateries, shops, and a focal point of the largely immigrant dominated West End. When Lynch refers to both areas, Beacon Hill is shown in opposition to Scollay Square, their different character emphasized by their physical proximity: Beacon Hill and Scollay Square happen to share a common edge. Lynch shows that Scollay Square's proximity causes uneasiness, which almost threatens to throw all of Beacon Hill into chaos. Lynch states,

Here a substantial part of the hill [Beacon Hill] has been overbuilt with commercial uses, so that Scollay Square is on the side-hill...The topographical reality has been ignored, and yet there is no large spatial opening which will make visible what has been done, nor a strong character change which can override the continuity of the land form. This undoubtedly contributed to the fuzziness of the image on this side, as well as to the spatial uneasiness of Scollay Square.³⁷

³⁶ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 162.

³⁷ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 164.

In Lynch's terminology, Scollay Square is a node.³⁸ Lynch uses five distinctive characteristics to define the structure of a city to aid in the progress of imageability. These elements consist of paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. A path is primarily an element, which enables the users of the city to get from point A to point B, which may consist of streets, transit lines, walkways, etc...,³⁹ whereas edges are seen as boundaries between two distinct forms of the city, such as shores, walls, or the edge of developments.⁴⁰ Districts are specific regions of the city that may be identified by the users by key defining elements that unify it. Districts are sometimes used to define certain areas of the city to outsiders and prove useful for classifications within a city.⁴¹ Nodes could very well be seen as meeting points within districts, where one enters a specific region of the city. These nodes could constitute junctions, breaks in transportation, a convergence of paths, such as street-corner hangouts, squares, etc....⁴² But a node could also be the main focal point of the district, which Lynch would call a core. Lynch's last element is a Landmark, which is an external, physical "point-reference," constituted by a building, sign, store, or even mountain. Landmarks may be either distant or within the city. These elements obviously all work in tandem with each other; these elements both overlap and co-exist with one another in the urban fabric. It is possible for specific identification points of the city to actually represent more than one element in Lynch's scheme.

³⁸ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 173.

³⁹ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 47.

⁴⁰ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 47.

⁴¹ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 47.

⁴² Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 47.

For Lynch, Scollay Square is a minor node (unlike Louisburg Square in Beacon Hill which is a major node) contained within the district known as the West End, both Scollay Square and the West End fatefully came to their end by the early 1960's oddly enough, coinciding with the publication of *The Image of the City*. Lynch does not necessarily condone the demolition of Scollay Square or the West End in *The Image of the City*, but he does suggest that Scollay Square warrants reinvigoration and reinvention to stop its decline. The use of depopulated photographs and confusing street maps employed by Lynch affirm his position, in the final sentence of his book, that "Scollay Square is not only a locus of uses which make 'nice' people uneasy—it is also a great visual opportunity missed."⁴³ This quote further reveals an implicit bias of consideration for visual image over habitat. Lynch repeatedly emphasizes that Scollay Square represents an isolated and disconnected area for his subjects in downtown Boston.⁴⁴ To a trained observer in the field, it is surprising on the one hand that Scollay Square does not exude a strong visual impression when it is encircled by five major landmarks, all with very prominent defining characteristics and/or vertical dominance: The Boston Common, The State House, The Court House, Faneuil Hall, and The Customs House. On the other, it is no surprise that the number of Boston landmarks in its surroundings could paradoxically stifle Scollay Square's visibility since they happen to dwarf the would be potentiality of the Square. However, it is stated that, "The contrast and proximity of each area, moreover, heightens the thematic strength of each,"⁴⁵ and therefore Scollay Square's nearness to Beacon Hill subsequently enhances the quality and visibility of the Hill. This

⁴³ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 181.

⁴⁴ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 24, specifically fig. 8.

⁴⁵ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 72.

is worth pointing out because it seems contradictory to some of Lynch's other reference points and quite frankly to commonsense. Perhaps there is an inherent reciprocity of the golden dome of the State House on Beacon Hill radiating against the green of the Boston Common, but it is a bit puzzling for Lynch to say that Beacon Hill enhances Scollay Square and vice versa, when he accuses Scollay Square of having a very vague and disjointed imageability amongst public perception. The assertion that Lynch makes here is that Scollay Square seems to sharpen one's image of Beacon Hill, but why does Beacon Hill not reciprocally sharpen the image of Scollay Square?

Moreover, the image of Scollay Square was vivid, rather than blurry in contemporary literary depictions quite contrary to Lynch's portrayal. Perhaps the most notorious historical fiction novel to depict Scollay Square was written by Pearl Schiff and simply titled *Scollay Square* (1952). The novel characterized the atmosphere of the neighborhood in an alluring yet credible way. The novel lacks the appearance of nostalgia, which is all too endemic of more modern writings about the Square. It is often difficult to be satisfied with overtly laudatory recollections of the Square, when so many accounts, past and current, of its presence in downtown Boston were ultimately mixed. David Kruh, in *Always Something Doing* (1989), speaks of Schiff's book as "both a commercial and critical success." Kruh also states that Schiff was "praised for her attention to detail and ability to weave a true picture of the square into a novel."⁴⁶ Kruh asserts that a Boston Post critic wrote that:

Scollay Square is a remarkable first novel, because it completely succeeds in reaching its planned climax and goal. It is not a book for the young or the overly prim reader, any more than a frank case study would be. And if anyone reads the book only for a leer, he is just as cheap as the average

⁴⁶ Kruh, 149.

wandering gob who was satisfied with the company of anything at all wearing a skirt (Boston Post, August 31, 1952).⁴⁷

Schiff's description of Scollay Square in the middle of the 20th century shows how the Square literally extended far beyond its physical boundaries (See fig. 9). Schiff says,

But Scollay Square is more than a geographical location.

There are very few buildings which actually comprise the square. A tavern, two movie houses, a sandwich bar, a liquor store, a penny arcade, a cafeteria, a drugstore....And across the street some more of the same, plus a few cafes where you can order a drink and see the floor show.⁴⁸

Schiff also recalls that the square was simply more than the sum of its parts.

But Scollay Square is more than a row of buildings. It extends beyond its physical boundaries. How about the cafes on adjoining streets and side streets? How about Joe and Nemo's, whose address, strictly speaking, is Cambridge Street? To deny that they are actually part of Scollay Square is to deny them existence.

What, then is Scollay Square? Ask any sailor whose ship lays up in the Boston Navy Yard. Ask the girls who gravitate toward it night after night. Ask the rum-dum, the bookie, the horse player, the whore. Ask the Shore Patrol and the police of officers of Station 3.

Scollay Square is a mood, a rhythm. It builds up gradually through the day, from the slow shuffling tempo of the broken down drunk, the lazy talk of the horse fans studying the racing forms, the bookies with their armstrongs, noting odds, jotting down figures, to the first provocative wiggle of the first hopeful girl emerging from the subway stairs at dusk.⁴⁹

The recollections of the Square from this particular historical fiction novel echo some of the descriptions of the West End. For many, Scollay Square and the West End were not just places or areas of Boston, they were both a way of life that many people became dearly attached to. These buildings for the living former residents now only exist in a realm that could be described, to borrow the phrase of D.H. Lawrence, as "the perfected past."⁵⁰

While, it is true that Scollay Square during the 1950's and 1960's was an area in decline, symbolized by the boarded up storefronts and the loss of vitality of the

⁴⁷ Kruh, 150.

⁴⁸ Pearl Schiff, Scollay Square (New York, NY: Rinehart, 1952), 2.

⁴⁹ Schiff, Scollay Square, 3.

⁵⁰ D.H. Lawrence, The Complete Poems (New York, NY: Penguin Classics, 1993), 181.

neighborhood by Lynch, it nonetheless seems that he has brushed over key elements of the square that many Bostonians held dear to them. David Kruh writes in laudatory detail in *Always Something Doing: Boston's Infamous Scollay Square*,

It is difficult enough, when researching a topic that relies so much on personal memory, to separate history from nostalgia. The plight of the West Enders made this task even more difficult, since their memories of Scollay Square are often such bittersweet blends of the playground that the rest of Boston knew and the home that was taken away from them. Perhaps then, it is understandable that they sometimes seem to glorify what to the rest of us may have seemed run-down or mundane. To them, Scollay Square was home.⁵¹

Kruh's book about Scollay Square, written some thirty years after Lynch's and the demolition of both Scollay Square and the West End, shows that over time the history of a specific area of a city such as Scollay Square may change due to public opinion and the influence of nostalgia. The methodology of Kruh's and Lynch's is quite different. Kruh has used interviews from people who knew Scollay Square through employment, recreation, habitation, etc.... However, Lynch's goal was to be able to take a random sampling of participants and use them to determine imageability, —previous knowledge of an area for this was not required. *The Image of the City* aimed to visualize specific cities in a generalized manner.

Kruh's approach is to put people, relationships, and life into the city, where Lynch strangely enough seems to have extracted all the tangible elements of the vitality out of the city and quite literally out of the pictures as well. Lynch is creating what appears to be a model framework of what a city "should" look like, but the irony is that there is no evidence that the participants of Lynch's study ever set foot in Scollay Square. For example, Lynch uses a photo of Scollay Square looking north,⁵² which shows billboards, a subway kiosk, buildings, a few cars, but no street-life, no people, and no traffic (See fig.

⁵¹ Kruh, xxi.

⁵² Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 177, (Fig 61.)

6). Lynch states that, “The principal visual impressions of Scollay Square, therefore are spatial shapelessness, heavy traffic, sharp slopes, and a homogeneity of dilapidation, particular uses, and characteristic inhabitants.”⁵³ From the rather prominent photo which Lynch displays opposite this text, one is unsure if the text and the photo are actually referencing the same area considering one does not seem to reflect the other. One gets a better idea of what the square actually might have been like when Lynch describes the square as having a “prevailing look of dilapidation” and that the square contained on both sides “a continuous string of bars, cheap restaurants, amusement arcades, movie theaters, cut-rate services, and stores selling second-hand goods or novelties, a string unbroken except for some empty stores on the west-side,”⁵⁴ which he actually chooses to illustrate in a more apt, but cryptic diagram (See fig. 8).⁵⁵ Lynch goes on to detail the two main elements of the square as storefronts and signs, and the types of people one would encounter primarily as being homeless, alcoholics, and shore-leave sailors. But Lynch portrays the square as a distinguishable part of the city at night when “its lights, activities, and sidewalk population are in sharp contrast to the dark and quiet city.”⁵⁶

Lynch tells us that one is able to orient him or herself in the square with much aid from the exterior views of the landmarks which are visible due to the square’s proximity to some nearby high-rise buildings. As said before, for Lynch Scollay Square’s importance comes from the nearby landmarks, which lie outside of the square; it does not come from its centralized positioning in downtown.

⁵³ Lynch. *The Image of the City*, 176.

⁵⁴ Lynch. *The Image of the City*, 176.

⁵⁵ Lynch. *The Image of the City*, 179. (Fig. 62).

⁵⁶ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 176.

The image of the city seems to not only be specifically evocative of the time period, but also the demographic used to represent the population of an area. Varying perspectives of the same area of a city are uncovered when sources are identified that reveal different motives and meanings of the same place. For both Kruh and Lynch, Scollay Square occupied a seemingly important space within the very heart of downtown Boston. However, their perspectives differ when Scollay Square is asked to occupy a space all of its own.

Figure 8. Street diagram of Scollay Square from Kevin Lynch's, The Image of the City.



Figure 9. Scollay Square's web of streets.



Part V:
The Death and Life of Cities

*"I believe in control from below and support from above."*⁵⁷

Jane Jacobs

(In response to the Loyalty Security Board regarding her union membership and activities during the Red Scare).

Jane Jacobs was a journalist, an author, and an activist, who through her writings in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), and the work that she did as a journalist for *Architectural Forum* and *Fortune* (just to name a few), consequently influenced not only city planners, but also ordinary people. She demonstrated that if communities and neighborhoods did not resign themselves to apathy and watch the city government take control of one neighborhood after another, collectivity with a concerted effort could indeed make a difference from the bottom-up. Perhaps it was the tireless efforts of Jacobs that almost single-handedly injected the spirit of radicalism and activism into the American consciousness in response to urban renewal efforts in the 1950's and 1960's, which were occurring in several areas of the US including certain east coast cities such as Boston, New York, New Haven, and Philadelphia.

"Unfortunate" is an appropriate word to describe the large-scale slum clearances of the West End and Scollay Square. But, perhaps these areas needed to endure massive changes, so that others would not have to. And, Jane Jacobs injected the notion of strong counterpublics into the tense climate of the 1960's, so that helplessness could be combated.

⁵⁷ Peter L. Lawrence, "Jane Jacobs Before *Death and Life*," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 66, no. 1 (March 2007): 10.

Jane Jacobs was critical of urban renewal nearly from its inception. She soon realized that her opposition towards urban renewal came into conflict with being an editor at *Architectural Forum*. Jacobs was interviewed for a *New York Times* review of the city's slum clearance program. 'Jane Jacobs, associate editor of *Architectural Forum*, now on leave to write a book about city planning,' the *Times* stated that Jacobs says that,

Firing Mr. Shanahan [Slum Clearance Committee vice chairman] or even Mr. Moses would help—but not much...Title I in its very nature is a track for the gravy train. It hands great chunks of the city over to officially anointed barons, makes city rebuilding and city commerce into monopolistic setup for the favored few. Whether their motives are pure or greedy is beside the point.⁵⁸

Jacobs took the blame for her 'sharp' opinions when the editor of *Forum*, Douglas Haskell reprimanded her for being too outspoken. So, when she wrote *Death and Life*, she wrote it as an individual and distanced herself from the affiliations that might have been compromised by these writings.

Jane Jacobs notes in *Death and Life of Great American Cities* that,

This book is an attack on current city planning and rebuilding. It is also, and mostly, an attempt to introduce new principals of city planning and rebuilding, different and even opposite from those now taught in everything from schools of architecture and planning to the Sunday supplements and women's magazines. My attack is not based on quibbles about rebuilding methods or hairsplitting about fashions in design. It is an attack, rather, on the principals and aims that have shaped modern, orthodox city planning and rebuilding.⁵⁹

This manifesto has touched on several issues, such as the importance of diversity and *unslumming*. These factors were not only directly related to Jacobs' own activism in helping to quell large-scale clearance operations in New York City, but they also echoed the destruction and loss that took place in Boston, namely in the West End and Scollay and Bowdoin Squares.

⁵⁸ Lawrence, 6.

⁵⁹ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, NY: Random House, 1961), 3.

Despite the fact that Scollay Square had consequently fallen into disrepair following the conclusion of World War II, it did however serve a multitude of functions and had added much needed diversity. Jacobs, in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* brings the reader's attention to one of the myths about diversity by stating, "Mixed uses look ugly. They cause traffic congestion. They invite ruinous uses."⁶⁰ Jacobs further states,

These supposed disadvantages are based on images of unsuccessful districts, which have not too much, but too little diversity. They call up visions of dull, down-at-heel residential areas, packed with a few shabby, shoestring enterprises...On the contrary, these represent precisely the senility that befalls city neighborhoods in which exuberant diversity has either failed to grow or has died off with time.⁶¹

Jacobs speaks in a chapter entitled, *Unslumming and Slumming*, that "Slums and their populations are the victims (and the perpetrators) of seemingly endless troubles that reinforce each other. Slums operate as vicious cycles."⁶² She goes on to speak of the injustices of slum clearance and the law's disregard for the disadvantaged,

Our present urban renewal laws are an attempt to break this particular linkage in the vicious circles by forthrightly wiping away slums and their populations, and replacing them with projects intended to produce higher tax yields, or to lure back easier populations with less expensive public requirements. The method fails. At best, it merely shifts slums from here to there...At worst, it destroys neighborhoods where constructive and improving communities exist and where the situation calls for encouragement rather than destruction.⁶³

Jacobs acutely aware of the need to control the image of an area in order to help ensure control of its future dedicates much attention to the term "slum." She cites Herbert Gans in *Death and Life*, as instead of referring to the West End as a 'slum' he deemed it 'a stable, low-rent area.' Jacobs shows that Gans has defined a slum as an area that 'because of the nature of its social environment can be proved to create problems and pathologies,'

⁶⁰ Jacobs, 222.

⁶¹ Jacobs, 223.

⁶² Jacobs, 270.

⁶³ Jacobs, 271.

and he did not see the West End fitting this description. Gans describes the neighborhood as a place where the residents had “intense attachment” to the district, “highly developed informal social control,” and many residents had renovated the interiors of their apartments. Jacobs classifies this phenomenon as an *unslumming slum*.⁶⁴ Jacobs asserts that the residents of these types of neighborhoods have the power to save themselves. However, former West Ender Bruce Guarino asserts that “the powers that be” were the one’s who took his neighborhood away and to an extent he’s right- too little was done, too late.

Jacobs, incidentally also cites Kevin Lynch in *Death and Life* and essentially tells the reader that Lynch’s work is an important step in the right direction to improve the ‘imageability’ of cities. For both Jacobs and Lynch, being able to conceive of and visualize a city is necessary for the potentiality of increased well-being of its users and inhabitants. What is most interesting is that Lynch’s early work has informed city planners and developers in justifying their plans to go ahead with the Government Center development by reemphasizing that Scollay Square was very much a lost opportunity for the city of Boston. Lynch acknowledges this albeit cryptically by stating in his revision to the *Image of the City* (1981),

I would criticize our original studies because they have proved difficult to apply to actual public policy. This is strange since the principal motive of the whole affair was to change the way in which cities were shaped: to make them more responsive to their inhabitants. To my chagrin, the work seems to have had very little real effect of that kind, except for that first flurry of misuse, now so happily faded away.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Jacobs, 275.

⁶⁵ Kevin Lynch, “The Image of the City Revision, 1981,” Kevin Lynch Papers, MC 208, Box 14, Folder 66, Institute Archives and Special Collections MIT Libraries, Cambridge, MA, 11.

It is clear that Lynch must be referring to his *Image of the City* work, conducted while a professor of planning at MIT, which had influenced the city of Boston's developmental plans. However, in hindsight, these actions are something that he as well as many other city officials and planners wholeheartedly regret.

In a very significant way, Lynch tried to measure what may in fact be immeasurable. Michael Conzen and George Lewis, in *Boston: A Geographical Portrait* (1976), touched on this dilemma by stating,

People's attitudes toward urban form have rarely and only with great difficulty have been subjected to objective measurement of any sort. Some years ago, Kevin Lynch set out to characterize the image that central Boston created in the consciousness of its residents. Conceptualizing the townscape as a congeries of paths, edges, nodes, districts, and individual landmarks, he first mapped the city center according to an 'objective' field survey and then interviewed sample residents in depth to reconstruct mental maps from verbal descriptions and sketches.⁶⁶

However, the problem with this approach, aside from the aforementioned issues that I take with Lynch's methodology from *The Image of the City* is that as soon as Lynch quantifies his samples and claims that a certain percentage of his subjects feel this way or that about the identifiable qualities of the city, there is a danger. Numbers should not quantify people's neighborhoods and livelihoods, so why should it justify large-scale redevelopment? Lynch's research for the *Image of the City* helped to inform his call for a "management of change" and gave the go-ahead for the large-scale clearance of Scollay Square in order to make way for the Government Center complex. Lynch, a consultant for the Government Center Project: Technical Report on Final Development Plan for the Government Center Area, which was prepared for the Planning Board of Boston by Adams, Howard, and Greeley Consultants, included his research on the imageability of

⁶⁶ Michael P. Conzen and George K. Lewis, *Boston: A Geographical Portrait* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Pub. Co, 1976), 78-79.

the area for the study.⁶⁷ The Government Center project could in a way be seen as an improvement from the West End redevelopment project, in respect to the way in which the project was conceived and the added sincerity that city planners and officials showed towards the seized neighborhood. However, most of Scollay Square was commercial, not residential. Still, many businesses and their families were forced out in the same fashion as in the old West End.

The scientific methods and empirical research that Kevin Lynch employed for his study of *The Image of the City* must be briefly contrasted with that of Jane Jacobs, who studied the city through induction in part because she had no academic training in city planning, architectural or urban history, or sociology to influence her research.⁶⁸ Considering these two very different (yet not necessarily incompatible) methods, it is not difficult to understand why Lynch's research was taken up with great clout initially (given his background and reputation) and then subsequently abandoned for further use in the field of public policy soon thereafter in the late 1960's (given the adverse reception of widespread top-down urban renewal). Literally, this illustrates the difficulty in quantifying an entire city by using what was hardly a random sampling of merely thirty more or less young, middle-class people. However, what Lynch's research implicates for theory, namely that the city may be imaged for the greater benefit of its inhabitants is fascinating and admirable and wholly in accordance with Jacobs views of improving the city for the greater good of the people.

⁶⁷ Kevin Lynch, "Government Center Project: Technical Report on Final Development Plan for the Government Center Area, June 1959" Government Center Folder, Kevin Lynch Papers, MC 208, Box 2, Institute Archives and Special Collections MIT Libraries, Cambridge, MA.

⁶⁸ Lawrence, 6.

Figure 10. This is a map of Lynch's depiction of housing in Boston. Tellingly there are only three categories, prestige (which is necessarily a small amount), good, and slum. The gulf between good and slum seems wide and its in between that neighborhoods such as the West End and Scollay Square would most likely best fit.

Part VI: *The Bottom-up*

In the 1980's two groups of *counterpublics* emerged in Boston. One was a response to the Urban Renewal of the 1950's and 1960's and the other, in Roxbury, anticipated, even feared, a new but all too familiar chapter in Boston's urban development.

Scolley Square and The West End, revived

*Figure 11.
Flyer for the re-
dedication of Scolley
Square*

Not simply nostalgia, but nostalgia as a protest of the past, is responsible for the re-branding of both what was formerly known as Scolley Square and the West End of Boston. These names have returned to their respective areas, yet there is an apparent insincerity in their namesakes. Commemorating these areas only in name, shows how

much has been lost and how little has been gained. In *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (1985), David Lowenthal states,

Nostalgia is often for past thoughts rather than past things, 'a day dream in reverse, like thinking we loved the books of our youth, when all we love is the thought of ourselves, young, reading them.' People flock to historic sites to share recall of the familiar, communal recollection enhancing personal reminiscence. What pleases the nostalgist is not just the relic but its own recognition of it, not so much the past itself as its supposed aspirations, less than the memory of what actually was than of what was once thought possible.⁶⁹

In 1986, WRKO radio talk-show host Jerry Williams decided to rally behind the idea that Government Center plaza should be renamed Scollay Square. Once the idea hit the airwaves, it had almost immediate support from Williams' listeners and the Mayor Raymond Flynn's office. David Kruh in *Always Something Doing* states, "The issue was certainly not a controversial one. A quarter of a century had dulled many of the seedier memories of the Square, and people were quick to support something that would bring back 'the good old days,' if only in name."⁷⁰ So on April 29, 1987, the existence of Scollay Square returned into the public's consciousness. In a Boston Globe article on December 30, 1986, there was a discussion of bringing back the name Scollay Square.

There is some irony in the fact that the old Scollay Square was as much a center of government as its replacement is. The coffee shops and bars on the tangle of streets that led toward the State House, the old City Hall and the Suffolk County courthouse were where the politicians of last-hurrah days met to hatch deals and concoct strategy.

It was pure Boston, as was the name (even if none of the Old Howard's customers cared what kind of business the original Mr. Scollay was in). And the song that mentions the Scollay Square station—where Charlie's wife handed him a sandwich as the train went rumbling through—is perhaps the only song about Boston that most people know...

Scollay Square continues to hold memories for older Bostonians—and for sailors and the undergraduates who were entertained there. They are memories that are worth preserving, even if only in a street sign and an MBTA stop.

⁶⁹ Lowenthal, 8.

⁷⁰ Kruh, 152.



*Figure 12.
The West End
Newsletter.*

It was around this same time that the West End was also coming back into the public's consciousness. In 1985, *The West Ender*, a newsletter established, edited, and published by former West Ender James Campano was founded to preserve the past and save it from extinction (See fig. 12). The newsletter, which is still in circulation today, has a subheading that states that *the West Ender* is "printed in the spirit of the Mid-Town Journal and dedicated to being the collective conscience of urban renewal and eminent domain in the City of Boston." Kathy Neustadt, in an article called, "'It Is Indeed A Strange and Wonderful Emotion You Arouse': Memory, History, and The 'Old West End,'" was included in the companion book to the Bostonian Society's 1992 widely praised exhibition, *The Last Tenement: Confronting Community and Urban Renewal in Boston's West End*, she states:

Today, *The West Ender* is only one of the ways through which the old neighbors can connect with the past and with each other. There are two West End reunions held each year, and thousands of people eagerly flock to them. A West End Historical Association was formed in 1987, and more than sixty-four West Enders have already participated in its Oral History Project, being videotaped as they talked about the old neighborhood before, 'the taking.'⁷¹

⁷¹ Kathy Neustadt, "'It Is Indeed A Strange and Wonderful Emotion You Arouse': Memory, History, and the 'Old West End,'" in *The Last Tenement: Confronting Community and Urban Renewal in Boston's West End*, eds. Sean M. Fisher and Carolyn Hughes, 94 (Boston, MA: The Bostonian Society, 1992).

The Bostonian Society's exhibition in the Old State House, *The Last Tenement*, was taking place at a time in Boston's history when the city as well as the "old West End" residents' wounds had not yet healed. There were movements in the city such as the renaming of Scollay Square and the beginning of *the West Ender* publication, which indicated that these areas were most certainly gone, but clearly not forgotten. The Last Tenement exhibition was divided into three sections. It began by showing the West End's first settlement of African-Americans on the North Slope of Beacon Hill in the 1890's, as well as various new immigrant groups that settled in thereafter. The second portion of the exhibit included life in the West End from 1920-1950. And the last portion of the exhibit detailed the clearance of the West End, cataloguing both sides of the demolition story, from the residents to the politicians, planners, and investors. James Green, wrote a review of the exhibition in the *Journal of American History*, and says that the exhibition depicts

A very warm feeling about life in the west end—so much so that one caption warns us that the 'district has been romanticized.' 'In fact,' it continues, 'the West End was an ordinary inner-city area,' with aging apartments and congested streets. This comment prepares us for what comes later, the labeling of the West End as a slum to be cleared.⁷²

Green later describes how the more elusive, sinister side of the clearance project was not told during the exhibition. Green states, "The interest of the banks, the real estate industry, and the city's major hospital are not revealed. After the West End's demolition, we read, " 'Mass. General Hospital also expanded.' There is no mention of the famous 'vault'—the clique of businessmen who orchestrated the development of new Boston."⁷³

⁷² James R. Green, "The Last Tenement: Confronting Community and Urban Renewal in Boston's West End," *The Journal Of American History* (December 1993) <http://www.jstor.org/cgi-bin/jstor/viewitem/00218723/di975306/97p0525m/2?>[accessed August 12, 2007],1026

⁷³ Green, 1026.

The Last Tenement exhibition was just the beginning of the revival of the “old West End” into a new kind of West End. West End Place, at the corner of Lomasney and Staniford streets was built in 1996 for the primary purpose of providing 183 mixed-income cooperative apartments to those former residents of the West End who still wanted to return to the old neighborhood after thirty years. On the ground floor of West End place lies a hidden gem of Boston, the West End Museum. James Campano opened the museum in 2004. The Boston Globe states “Campano secured the space after fighting the building’s developers and the city for years. ‘We’re still very limited on money,’ Campano says. He struggles to pay the monthly \$1100 co-op maintenance fee with donations. ‘At the moment, we’re holding our own.’”⁷⁴ However, the West End Museum in July 2007 received a \$50,000 grant from the state and with this money they underwent a makeover. Most of the museum’s displays have come from the Last Tenement exhibition, but the museum is not necessarily about what there is to see on the wall, rather its greatest strength is the rich stories and information that the former resident tour guides provide. One of the tour guides Bruce Guarino informed me that this was to be a place for the former West Enders to meet up to “coffee klatch.”

David Lowenthal cites Nietzsche’s *Use and Abuse of History* in *The Past is a Foreign Country* by stating that, “Nietzsche urged that memory be curtailed or obliterated lest the past become the gravedigger of the present. ‘No artist will paint his picture, no general win his victory, no nation gain its freedom’ without ‘forgetting the past’.”⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Collins, 2-3.

⁷⁵ Lowenthal, 66.

However, “forgetting the past” isn’t likely to happen. The rebranding of the new West End officially occurred nearly eighteen years later than the renaming of Scollay Square (See figs. 11, 13). The Boston Globe recalls,

The people who live in Charles River Park have abandoned Rappaport’s utopian title. They now proudly refer to their turf as the West End...Even developer Rappaport agrees: “Charles River Park and West End are now synonymous.

The city of Boston officially acknowledged the neighborhood in July 2005 by placing a blue ‘Welcome to the West End’ sign on Staniford Street. A small ceremony with Mayor Thomas M. Menino is planned for this month. The signage is a significant symbol of a neighborhood’s rebirth: If you lived here, you’d be home now.⁷⁶

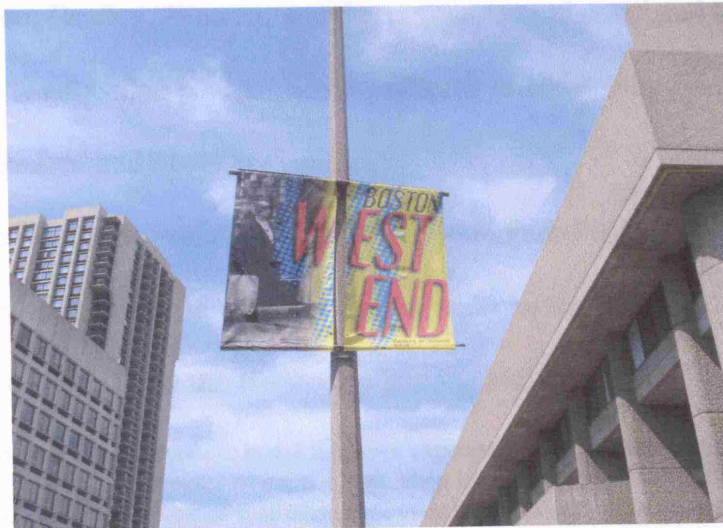


Figure 13.
A current banner commemorating the rebranding of the West End. Charles River Park is also depicted (left).

Roxbury Rising

“I see no reason to believe that Negro slums cannot unslum too, and more swiftly than the old slums at that, if the processes at work are understood and helped.”⁷⁷
Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life Great of American Cities*

Roxbury, a predominantly black Boston neighborhood, came to know urban renewal as well with the city’s painstaking efforts to continue to create a “New Boston.” Under Mayor John Collins, Edward Logue, who promised to continue renewal efforts by rehabilitation through input without displacing current residents, became the director of

⁷⁶ Collins, 2-3.

⁷⁷ Jacobs, 285.

the BRA in the 1960's. "Mayor Collins asserted, 'I would expect the neighborhood communities would have a key partnership role in the preparation and carrying out of renewal plan. I would call it planning *with* people instead of planning for people.'"⁷⁸

However, this was not the whole truth. The city sought to plan with primarily middle-class homeowners, and anticipated displacing low-income residents.

Roxbury's Washington Park Urban Renewal Project consisted of 502 acres of land, and thirty-five percent of this acreage was demolished. The project area was bounded by Washington, Dudley, Warren, and Sever Streets, and consisted of seventy-one percent black and twenty-nine percent white residents in 1960. Numerous low-rent dwellings were eliminated and never replaced.

Logue spoke the praises of the Washington Park Project by describing it as, "the most successful of our renewal programs, and one that caused the least grief."⁷⁹

However the BRA and the Roxbury Planning and Zoning Advisory Committee claimed,

The Urban Renewal process was a negative experience for the residents of Roxbury. The legacy left by Urban Renewal is the scars of vacant land, abandoned buildings, a fear of displacement and gentrification, and a lack of fear of control over the future of one's community.⁸⁰

Once again, a more or less helpless community could do nothing besides watch their homes be destroyed.

By the turn of the 1980's, it looked as if the city would again encourage neighborhood improvements that continued to favor the middle-class, and which regardless of their intentions, would overlook or misunderstand the concerns of lower income citizens. The BRA: Neighborhood Planning Program Pamphlet on Roxbury shows that:

⁷⁸ Medoff and Sklar, 16.

⁷⁹ Medoff and Sklar, 9.

⁸⁰ Medoff and Sklar, 19.

The City's Housing Improvement Program [as part of the Roxbury proposed three-year improvement program, 1979-1981] has been minimally effective in Roxbury. The program is designed to provide 20%, 40%, and 50% rebates to participants who bring their homes up to code. Eligibility is further defined by income limits and the applicant's ability to secure a home improvement loan from a private lending institution. The major flaw of this program in the Roxbury area is that the majority of people who want to participate in it are unable to obtain loans from banks because they have unacceptable credit ratings."⁸¹

This environment in Roxbury in the 1980's seemed especially susceptible to the kind of far-reaching urban renewal that the city indulged in during the 1950's and 1960's. But, on January 16, 1985 this all would change. The Dudley Square Advisory Group agreed to the name the Dudley Square Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) and started developing plans to secure a community controlled future.

In the 1980's a survey initiated by students at Roxbury Community College (RCC) of residents and students from the area around the college noted that the worst problems in the area were housing and arson (one year later an area of Roxbury called Highland Park was dubbed, 'the arson capitol of the nation'). But the low street lighting, vermin, lack of garbage collection, and abandoned cars, did little to boost the impression of the neighborhood. However, the residents of Dudley Square applauded the neighborhood's "racial harmony" and "tolerance." Despite the negative effects that urban renewal brought in the 1960's there were in fact people who stayed, perhaps this was due to the "Pride in the neighborhood, a determination to fight outside encroachment, arson and abandonment, and a determination to keep the area livable."⁸² The DSNI was resolute in the fight to *unslum* their neighborhood before the BRA did it for them. And it was the BRA who challenged the DSNI before they even had their first meeting. The BRA

⁸¹ Boston Redevelopment Authority: Neighborhood Planning Program Pamphlet, "Roxbury: District Profile and Proposed 1979-1981 Neighborhood Improvement Program," (Boston, MA: City of Boston, 1979), 5

⁸² Medoff and Sklar, 37.

proposed a “New Town” strategy with a \$750 million complex of office towers, hotels, housing, historical parks and light manufacturing in the northern Dudley area. “Many saw the ‘New Town’ strategy as the old “urban removal,”⁸³ thus making housing prices well out of the range for many residents. If nothing were done, Roxbury would succumb to a similar fate as what befell both the West End and Scollay Square. The residents did not let this happen to their neighborhood.

A governing board for the DSNI was created immediately and resident participation was deemed essential. Equal minimum representation of the four ethnicities that comprised the area, Black, Cape Verdean, Latino, and White, was important to strengthen collective action.

In April and May 1986, The DSNI’s first director Peter Medoff, knocked on hundreds of doors in the community, speaking with residents regarding their community and asking about their “fears” and “hopes” for the neighborhood. This was the first step in convincing the residents that they had the power to enact change. For the DSNI, these small battles needed to be fought, in order to implement the big necessary changes in the community. The residents desired “clean lots, abandoned cars towed, recreational areas maintained, more effective policing, better city services, and enforcement of housing and health codes.”⁸⁴

The DSNI responded promptly to residents and started the “Don’t Dump On Us” campaign. This would begin with cleaning up and fencing off over 1,300 vacant lots. The hope was to transform people’s perception from dump to potential spaces for homes, businesses, community services, parks, and playgrounds. The campaign was a tool to

⁸³ Medoff and Sklar, 51.

⁸⁴ Medoff and Sklar, 70.

unify people in the community: public housing tenants, homeowners, and businesspeople with a common goal of widespread community improvement.

The DSNI, came to exemplify what Jane Jacobs wrote of, “In the end, she fought not against planning, but for a democratic form of planning that worked—by design and by nature—‘from the bottom-up.’”⁸⁵ Dudley residents and agencies would create their own ‘bottom-up’ plan and invite the city to participate in order to create their own, to use the words of Herbert Gans, “urban village.” “This time, urban renewal would not be ‘urban removal’ because the residents themselves would be the planners.”⁸⁶ The first thing that the DSNI demanded from the city was respect and equality.

The DSNI hired DAC International, a consulting firm from Washington D.C., which was owned by a person of color to plan their neighborhood. One of the attractive assets of DAC was the fact that they urged community participation in the planning process. DAC collaborated with the firm of Stull and Lee, who organized a series of design workshops for members of the community to come and describe the neighborhood that they envisioned for the future and the designers and architects would sketch these suggestions.

Peter Medoff in *Streets of Hope* (1992) states,

Dudley’s revitalization would center around a diverse, economically viable and neighborly urban village. The urban village would combine housing, shopping, open space, and a multi-use community center. Before DSNI, the Dudley Street area was seen as being between some other places—Dudley Station, Uphams Corner and Grove Hall—and not a place of its own. The urban village would give Dudley a center and strengthen an identity unique to the neighborhood with all its diverse cultural traditions.⁸⁷

Dudley Square was being imaged much like Scollay Square had been by Lynch some thirty years earlier. The language of Lynch and Medoff to describe the perception of their

⁸⁵ Lawrence, 13.

⁸⁶ Medoff and Sklar, 89.

⁸⁷ Medoff and Sklar, 105.

respective areas are remarkably similar. Dudley was seen as a transient crossroads of multiple locales, rather than having a distinct identity; such an image can be a liability and one which leaves an area susceptible to redevelopment.

The DSNI was dedicated firstly to protecting Roxbury residents from being displaced, but they also needed to ingeniously come up with a plan to strengthen community ties and get the financing to complete such a comprehensive bottom-up redevelopment strategy. Ultimately, the DSNI succeeded by winning over both the community's and the government's support for this new type of bottom-up, participatory, comprehensive planning process.

Mayor Flynn announced that the city was adopting the DSNI master plan as its own. As he explained it years later, 'If you want to build a solid foundation for an organization, or a house, you're better off [starting] from the basement up...And the foundation of this whole effort is really people power.' 'Government', said Flynn shortly before leaving office, 'should be on the side of people trying to improve their neighborhoods, not 'telling people in neighborhoods what they should do or what they can't achieve.'⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Medoff and Sklar, 112.

Conclusion

The works of Jane Jacobs, Herbert Gans, and Kevin Lynch, along with the lessons that have been learned about redevelopment from places such as Boston's West End, Scollay Square, and later Roxbury, have halted the haphazard demolition of large-tracts of previously inhabited areas in America. Consideration for the neighborhoods and the inhabitants of these areas is an acquisition thankfully gained from the mistakes of the past century, along with the Civil Rights Act. I am not advocating exoneration. I am also not declaring a perfection of modern renewal practices. Nevertheless, as I have shown in this report, the recognition of multiple publics by the establishment, specifically through the works of Jacobs and Gans, has returned an added sensitivity and consciousness towards regeneration policies.

I have stressed that viewing the city from differing perspectives is an important tool to not only inform the top-down, but also the bottom-up. Lynch's research and methods were indeed a revolutionary, and to some extent beneficial, way of imaging. I have shown that he, along with Jacobs was instrumental in changing opinions of what a city should and could be. However, as I have demonstrated, Lynch's findings, having supported some implicit biases, yielded unfortunate consequences during, to use his own words, "that first flurry of misuse." And, just as Habermas believes that the public sphere has never been actualized to its fullest extent, I have the belief that the "image of the city" has similarly not reached its greatest potential. "Images" have the capability to be constructive and positive tools for the inhabitants of a city when emphasis is taken off the empirical and restored to the subjective. The city is a place that can be learned and known, but this can be achieved in a number of ways. Should we think about re-

actualizing the potential of the “image of the city?” And if so, how would this be sought? Perhaps, this is something to examine in a further study.

In the final section, VI, I have discussed ways in which the populous play an influential role in the dissemination of past renewal efforts and an active role in more modern and current regeneration projects. Through memories and nostalgia of the West Enders and of those who can still remember good old Scollay Square, by the spirit of many, these places are kept alive. And, beginning the 1980’s, an urban awakening occurred in Roxbury. For the first time in Boston’s post-war history civic participation had managed to defeat not only an urban redevelopment project in the advanced stages of approval but also to reverse a trend in the relationship between populations and urban planning that had been dominant for almost the past half century.

The livelihood of future neighborhoods and communities will rely largely on community activism, much like Jane Jacobs implanted in the 1960’s. And hopefully no longer will residents need to silently protest and remember their lost neighborhoods through nostalgic representations.

The limitation of imaging has been suggested already in this study. However, continuing to stress the importance of counterpublics in architectural history as well as related fields has and will continue to prove to be most beneficial with time.

Appendix

Source of Illustrations:

Figure 1. The West End Museum, Boston, MA. Image by Jessica Hoffman. Taken August 2007.

Figure 2. Two maps from Kevin Lynch's, *The Image of the City*, pgs. 146-7. The first is an image derived from verbal images, the second is the visual form as seen in the field.

Figure 3. Depicts the demolition of Scollay Square to make way for the Government Center Project. From Alex Kreiger's, *Past Futures*, pg. 21.

Figure 4. Aerial Photo of Scollay Square, 1930. From Alex Krieger's, *Past Futures*, pg. 74.

Figure 5. Aerial Photo of Government Center, 1980. From Alex Krieger's, *Past Futures*, pg. 75.

Figure 6. Photograph of Scollay Square looking north. Image from Lynch's *The Image of the City*, pg. 177.

Figure 7. Map of Downtown Boston highlighting Beacon Hill and Scollay Square. Image from Lynch's *The Image of the City*, pg. 161.

Figure 8. Visual diagram of Scollay Square. Image from Lynch's *The Image of the City*, pg. 179.

Figure 9. Scollay Square's web of streets. Image from Lynch's *The Image of the City*, needs pg. 175.

Figure 10. A sketched map of Boston from Kevin Lynch, which classifies types of housing and zoning. 4th week of June, year unknown. From The Kevin Lynch Papers, "Field Analysis: Whole City" Folder, MC 208, Box 4.

Figure 11. Re-dedication of Scollay Square Flyer, 14 April 1987. The Bostonian Society.

Figure 12. The West Ender Newsletter. June 2007.

Figure 13. West End Banner, depicting Charles River Park (left). Photo By Jessica Hoffman. August 2007.

Bibliography:

- Boston Redevelopment Authority. Neighborhood Planning Program Pamphlet: Roxbury: District Profile and Proposed 1979-1981 Neighborhood Improvement Program. Boston, MA: The City of Boston, 1979.
- Boston Redevelopment Authority. Urban Renewal and Planning in Boston. Boston, MA: The City of Boston, 1972.
- Campano, James. Interview by Jessica Hoffman. Boston, MA. 24 August 2007.
- Collins, Monica. "Born Again." The Boston Globe. 7 August 2005.
- Conzen, Michael P. and George K. Lewis. Boston: A Geographical Portrait. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976.
- De Certeau, Michel. The Practice of Everyday Life. Translated by Steven Rendall. Los Angeles, CA: The University of California Press, 1984.
- Duhl, Leonard J., ed. The Urban Condition. New York, NY: Basic Books Inc., 1963.
- Fitch, James Marsden. James Marsden Fitch: Selected Writings 1933-1997. Ed. Martica Sawin. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006.
- Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." In Calhoun, Craig, ed. Habermas and the Public Sphere. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992.
- Gans, Herbert J. The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans. London: The Free Press, 1962, 1982.
- Green, James R. "The Last Tenement: Confronting Community and Urban Renewal in Boston's West End." The Journal Of American History 80, no. 3 (December 1993): 1024-1030.
<<http://www.jstor.org/cgi-bin/jstor/viewitem/00218723/di975306/97p0525m/2?>>.
(12 August 2007).
- Guarino, Bruce. Interview by Jessica Hoffman. Boston, MA. 14 August 2007, 24 August 2007.
- Habermas, Jurgen. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into The Category of Bourgeoisie Society. Trans. by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Fredrick Lawrence. Great Britain: Polity Press, 1962, 1989.
- Jacobs, Jane. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York, NY: Random House, 1961.

- Judge, Joseph. "Those Proper and Other Bostonians." National Geographic September 1974: 352-380.
- Kennedy, Lawrence W. Planning A City Upon A Hill. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.
- Krieger, Alex and Lisa J. Green. Past Futures: Two Centuries of Imaging Boston. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Graduate Design School, 1985.
- Kruh, David. Always Something Doing: Boston's Infamous Scollay Square. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1989.
- Lawrence, D.H. The Complete Poems. New York, NY: Penguin Classics, 1993.
- Lawrence, Peter L. "Jane Jacobs Before Death and Life." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 66, no. 1 (March 2007): 5-15.
- Lowenthal, David. The Past Is A Foreign Country. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Lynch, Kevin. City Sense and City Design. Eds. Tridib Banerjee and Michael Southworth. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.
- Lynch, Kevin. The Image of The City. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960.
- Lynch, Kevin. A Theory of Good City Form. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981.
- Lynch, Kevin. What Time Is This Place? Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972.
- Lynch, Kevin Papers. MC 208. Institute Archives and Special Collections, MIT Libraries, Cambridge, MA.
- Mollenkopf, John H. The Contested City. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- McQuade, Walter. "Boston: What Can a Sick City Do?" Fortune, June 1964, 3-10.
- Neustadt, Kathy. "'It Is Indeed A Strange and Wonderful Emotion You Arouse': Memory, History, and the 'Old West End,'" In The Last Tenement: Confronting Community and Urban Renewal in Boston's West End, edited by Sean M. Fisher and Carolyn Hughes, page nos. The Bostonian Society: Boston, MA. 1992.
- O'Connor, Thomas H. Building a New Boston: Politics and Urban Renewal 1950-1970. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press: Boston, 1993.

Porter, Paul R. and Sweet, David C., eds. Rebuilding America's Cities: Roads to Recovery. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research: New Brunswick, 1984.

Schiff, Pearl. Scollay Square. New York, NY: Rinehart, 1952.

Scollay Square. Vertical File. The Bostonian Society Library. Boston, MA.

Shand-Tucci, Douglass. Built in Boston: City and Suburb, 1800-2000. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

West End. Vertical File. The Bostonian Society Library. Boston, MA.

The West Ender [Boston, MA] June 2007.

Whitehill, Walter Muir and Lawrence W. Kennedy. Boston: A Topographical History. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959, 2000.

Whyte, William Foote. Street Corner Society. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943, 1955

Wilson, James Q., ed. Urban Renewal: The Recovery and the Controversy. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1966.